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**GUIDE TO THE LITERATURE OF CITIES: Abstracts And Bibliography**  
**Part VI: Urban Sociology**

Morris Zeitlin

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## GUIDE TO THE LITERATURE OF CITIES:

## ABSTRACTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

## PART VI: URBAN SOCIOLOGY

by

Morris Zeitlin

## INTRODUCTION

Chaos, decay and alienation in American cities prompted considerable sociological inquiry into the nature of urban life giving rise to the discipline of urban sociology. It formed early in this century with the Chicago School of Human Ecology led by Robert E. Park and his followers. From the start, American urban sociology was steeped in positivist-pragmatist philosophy which dominates it to this day. Cities, it assumes, are natural ecological formations like those of flora and fauna only of a higher organizational complexity owing to the development of human devices such as political and economic institutions, transportation and, above all, communication. It sees the chief cause of alienation and delinquency in modern cities in the weakening of primary-group controls which prevailed in the pre-industrial urban and village life. It tries, in short, to understand social development through social-psychological phenomena failing to see that social psychology is the result, rather than cause, of historically developed social relations shaped by objective laws of social evolution. This pseudo-scientific orientation has inevitably failed to produce coherent urban theory and to explain the city as a social product. It has reduced urban sociology to a mere descriptive discipline that spawns shallow studies of various aspect of urban life gathering unco-ordinated

data of questionable value.

Despite the pragmatic philosophy of most urban sociologists, however, some of their observations and the investigation techniques they invented have contributed significantly toward development of urban theory. Some data they have gathered document the reality of present-day cities, and studies of personality behavior in different urban groups have revealed some aspects of social motivation and causality among city dwellers.

## URBAN SOCIOLOGY

## ABSTRACTS OF SELECTED WORKS

Burgess, Ernest W. and Donald J. Bogue, Editors. Contributions in Urban Sociology. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964. 673pp.

A collection of pioneer contributions by forty-four University of Chicago sociologists documenting the main findings in urban sociological research over a fifty-year period. Some of the included works are out of print and some have been updated.

The volume begins with a short history of urban research at the University of Chicago and presents its collected works in four parts: "Urban Ecology and Demography," "Urban Organization and Mass Phenomena," "Ethnic and Racial Groups in Urban Society," and "Urban Social Problems."

Park, Robert E., Ernest W. Burgess, and Roderick D. McKenzie. The City. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1925. 239pp. Bibliography by Louis Wirth. (Reissued in 1966).

A collection of sociological essays that views the city as an ecological formation and explores the nature of its social life.

Defining the ecological point of view in the lead essay ("The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment"), Park outlines a "program for the study of urban life: its physical organization, its occupation, and its culture." He examines city population characteristics, the neighborhood, city ghettos, industrial organization and the moral order, secondary relations and social control, and temperament in the urban environment.

The other essays are based on detailed studies suggested in the lead essay.

Burgess explains the expansion of the city as a process of "invasion or succession radially from the center into concentric zones." He explores the way individuals are incorporated into city life, examines "mobility as the pulse of the community," and looks into the possibility of a scientific basis for neighborhood work.

McKenzie discusses "The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community." He points out "the relation of human ecology to plant and animal ecology," classifies communities on an ecological basis, determines "ecological factors in the growth or decline of community," indicates "the effect of ecological changes in the social organization of community," and describes the "ecological process determining the internal structure of community."

In several essays Park analyzes the city press, community organization, juvenile delinquency, and mentality in city life.

Louis Wirth classifies, discusses and annotates an extensive bibliography.

Warner, W. Lloyd and Paul S. Lunt. The Social Life of a Modern Community. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941. 460pp. Charts. Tables.

A sociological study of life in "Yankee City" -- a typical New England town. The authors describe in detail the town's cultural life and the division of its people into a hierarchy of six social classes. They show how the lives of the people conform to the positions they occupy within these classes; how the reading of magazines, newspapers and books, the items in the family budget, the selection of doctors, the education of children, crime and delinquency, residence, membership in lodges, fraternities, and churches -- in fact most of the social behavior -- are highly influenced by class factors.

The authors also describe the techniques, methods, and conceptual framework they used in their research.

Stein, Maurice R. The Eclipse of Community: An Interpretation of American Studies. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960. 354pp. Selected bibliography.

Following a summary, critical examination, and synthesis of the classic sociological studies of Robert Park, the Lynds, and Lloyd Warner, which he treats as historical documents, Stein formulates a theory of American community development. With the aid of insights in anthropology and psychoanalysis, he shows how industrialization, urbanization, and bureaucratization, which he assumes to be the central sources of community change, have shaped American community life, institutions, and personality. Stein applies his theory to several types of communities to show the relation between trends in their development and the trends in their contemporary social problems.

Hatt, Paul and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., Editors. Cities in Society: The Revised Reader in Urban Sociology. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1957 (First edition in 1951). 852pp. Bibliography.

A collection of sixty-two social-science essays on cities by sociologists, economists, psychologists, anthropologists, and others. Following the introductory article "The Sociology of Urban Life: 1946-1956," the essays are grouped into nine sections: "The Nature of the City," "The Nature and Extent of Urbanization and Population Distribution," "The History of Urban Settlement," "The Spatial and Temporal Patterns of Cities," "The Demographic Structure and Vital Processes,"

"The Stratification Structure and Processes," "Institutional and Organizational Structures and Processes," "The Urban Dweller: Personality and Social Participation," and "The City as an Articraft."

Duncan, Otis Dudley and Albert J. Reiss, Jr. Social Characteristics of Urban and Rural Communities, 1950. (For the Social Research Council in cooperation with the United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.) New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1956. 421pp. Tables. Charts.

Using the 1950 census statistics, Dudley and Reiss analyze the social characteristics of American communities in terms of concepts and hypotheses drawn from the discipline of human ecology or social morphology. Since earlier studies suggested these factors as basic morphological determinants in shaping the character of a community, the authors compare American communities on the basis of size, spatial organization, growth and decline, and functional specialization.

In an appendix, the volume presents the functional specialization of every American city with a population of 10,000 or more.

Wirth, Louis. On Cities and Social Life (selected papers, edited and with an introduction by Albert J. Reiss, Jr.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964. 350pp.

A collection of twenty-one essays grouped in four parts: "Social Organization," "The Sociology of Knowledge," "The Community," and "Social Problems and Planning." Throughout these essays, Wirth interrelates demography, ecology, technology, and social psychology with social organization which he conceives as the main field of interest in sociology. He does not try to formulate sociological theory; he tries, rather, to illuminate some aspects of social life. Wirth denies that the study of social behavior or action alone can reveal the truth about society. In his judgment, the failure to act is an equally significant fact about human life; therefore, values, ideas, attitudes, and motives are equally important phenomena for sociological investigation.

Although all the essays in the collection are relevant to the student of contemporary American cities, the following are especially instructive: "Social Organization: The Problems of the Individual and the Group," "Consensus and Mass Communication," "Ideological Aspects of Social Disorganization," "Urbanism as a Way of Life," "The Ghetto," "Ideas and Ideals as Sources of Power in the Modern World," "The Scope and Problems of the Community," "Human Ecology," "Localism, Regionalism, and Centralization," "The Limitations of Regionalism," "Rural-Urban Differences," "Culture Conflict and Misconduct," "The Problem of Minority Groups," "Race and Public Policy," "Housing as a Field of Sociological Research," and "The Metropolitan Region as a Planning Unit."

Appended to the volume are a "Biographical Memorandum on Louis Wirth" by Elizabeth Wirth Marvick, and a complete bibliography of Wirth's writings.

Bergel, Egon E. Urban Sociology. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1955. 558pp. Illustrated. Charts. Maps. Tables. Photos. Bibliography.

In this comprehensive urban-sociology textbook, Bergel analyzes American urban data in the light of contemporary sociological theory. He conceives urbanism as a way of life and sociology as a concern with interdependent people.

Among the book's content:

1. Definition of sociological terms and introduction to basic sociological concepts.
2. A short history of cities from antiquity to modern times with insights of their social aspects.
3. Demonstration of the empirical approach to sociological analysis of cities in a comparison of New York with Paris.
4. Review of theories on location of cities and a discussion of social geography: ecological patterns of cities; their types of spatial separation; and their natural, cultural, and functional determinants.
5. Analysis of changes in ecological patterns: ecological theories of city growth; the social aspect of functional differences between and within the cities; the implications of urban growth, decline, population changes, and population densities.
6. Urban demography: sociological class structure in American urban society; status, position, prestige, castes, races and nationalities, class control of opportunities; class cultural patterns; beliefs; the impact of heterogeneity; inter-marriage; population growth and urban birth rate; inter-city migration.
7. Urban basic institutions: the family, marriage and divorce rates; churches; recreational organizations; urban government.
8. Urban pathology and therapy: death rates; physical and mental disease; vice, crime and corruption; slums; housing, planning, and community organization.

Among the author's conclusions:

1. Some criticism of cities and the dire, pessimistic predictions of their future are unfounded. "Cities are thriving and...urban population shows strength and vitality." Present urban problems "cause intense human suffering, create social difficulties, and tax economic resources. They do not, however, threaten the existence of cities."
2. The city is transforming partly as a "...result of social forces which we cannot hope to control; but, in part, intentional planning can do much to direct the development of future cities."
3. "It is necessary to deflate the more materialistic aspects of urban civilization, the stress on shallow forms of pleasure...conveniences and gadgets, and to strengthen the sense of individual responsibility, to promote the concern for cultural values, the respect for arts and sciences, and the interest in social problems."

Reissman, Leonard. The Urban Process: Cities in Industrial Societies. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964. 255pp.

Following a summary of present knowledge and a critical analysis of past thought about cities, Reissman constructs a framework for a theory of urbanization and urban society.

Until recently, he notes, the city had been treated "with unjustified simplicity in theoretical conception." The several schools of thought pulled separately and in different directions. The frantic search for facts which practicing planners hoped will lead to a systematic exploration of urban society, failed to reveal the full dimensions of the city as a social environment. Visionaries like Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright and Lewis Mumford have contributed ideas to the understanding of the city which social scientists have ignored. They have disclosed the city's industrial roots and the many factors that create the city. But they have overlooked or oversimplified human motivations and needs, and have too easily assumed that people want to live in small communities and get back to nature. The line of study the classifiers of cities have followed holds little promise for a valid sociology of the city. They have failed to establish the relevance of the indices they constructed to the basic features of urban society. "Without a theory of the city, the concern with indices is premature."

Of all students of the city, the ecologists, who have dealt with the city as a whole and have been aware of its complex relationships, have come closest to an urban society. They have shed light on "some of the intricate connections between urban social structure and urban personality" but failed to consider "the structure of society itself, its political organization and allegiance." They have also shown that the

city is but a stage in a long process of social change and that its unique social forms must be studied in their own right. However, "ecology provides at best some important techniques and insights, but not a self contained theory." Nor is it likely to provide one because it tends toward biological determinism. It "will produce more sophisticated studies...in terms of land uses, population characteristics, methodological refinements.... (But) this information can be meaningful only if relevant to the concepts and categories that an urban theory -- not ecology -- must devise."

Reissman limits his analysis to cities in industrial societies. "The developed and developing industrial cities," he states, "are both creatures of societies at different stages of urbanization." In industrial societies "the nation rather than the city, is the meaningful unit for analysis of urbanization...the industrial city has become the dominating social factor of society...(and must be viewed) through an analysis of industrial society.... Once we understand the dynamics of urban development through which a society moves, we might be better prepared to apply that knowledge to our understanding of the city itself."

The author singles out four variables in the development of industrial societies which, he believes, may provide a basis for comparison that would lead to a theory of urban society: urban growth, industrialization, the emergence of a middle class into power, and the rise of nationalism as a dominant and unifying political ideology. He converts these four components into indices, applies them to forty-five societies, and constructs a typology of urbanization stages through which industrializing societies may pass, or at which they may remain.

Sjoberg, Gideon. The Preindustrial City: Past and Present.

Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960. 353pp. Extensive notes and bibliographic references.

The author finds strong social and ecological similarities between the preindustrial cities of the remote past and those in contemporary non-industrial societies. Contrasting the preindustrial city with the industrial-urban center, he posits that preindustrial social forms are a crucial guideline against which the revolutionary changes in developing countries can and should be measured.

The work describes the social structures and cities of India, China, Medieval Europe, and the Middle East, and surveys the origins of cities and their historical development in Eurasia, Africa, and Meso-America to explain why certain cities have arisen, prospered, declined, or disappeared.



Taking ecology, rather than economic organization of society, as the key independent variable, Sjoberg distinguishes three types of societies: the folk or preliterate society, the feudal society, and the industrial-urban society. He is critical of the Wirth school of urban sociology to whom "urbanism as a way of life is typified by...tenuous social relationships" and for whom "the effects of urban development are distinct and independent of those stemming from cultural values or from industrialization." It neglects to examine, he thinks, "the organized aspects of city life" and fails "to recognize that the city is in many respects molded by the social system of which it is a part."

Some of Sjoberg's salient observations and conclusions:

1. American sociologists, who "have too long been steeped in the positivistic tradition that stresses fact-gathering and absorption in particulars at the expense of broader generalizations" have shown interest only recently in the comparative analysis of cities and societies. They are increasingly uneasy with the widely accepted "generalizations about urban life based solely upon data from American society."
2. "Social scientists concerned with social class have become entangled in a web of confusion, in part attributable to their failure to classify their theoretical perspectives -- including the reference points they utilize to delineate a class system."
3. "A social class is a large body of persons who occupy a position in a social hierarchy by reason of their manifesting similarly valued objective criteria. These latter include kinship affiliation, power and authority, achievements (occupational and educational attainments), possession (material evidence of wealth), and moral (religious and ethical beliefs and actions) and personal attributes (speech, dress, and personal mannerisms)."
4. "The traditional (preindustrial) social structure does not evanesce as rapidly as might be imagined...it possesses remarkable capacities for stemming, at least for a time, the tides of change; its complex institutional apparatus -- above all its literate elite -- are potentially powerful forces of resistance. Pre-industrial urban forms continue to dominate the city-scape in India, the Middle East, in sections of Latin America...in Japan.... More impressive is the formidable opposition the Soviet Union...has encountered in its attempts to wipe out the pre-industrial-urban carryovers in Muslim Central Asia...despite decades of concerted effort in this direction." They survive still in Spain, Italy, France, and even in Germany and England." "Failure to recognize this, however, is widespread."

5. "By the end of the present century...the industrial city will be the dominant community form throughout the world.... The tidal wave of industrialization, conjoined with the on-going technical revolution and the rapid population growth, will lead to cities of gargantuan dimensions. We believe sociologists' objective understanding may help to ease the inevitable stresses that will follow."

Mann, Peter H. An Approach to Urban Sociology. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965. 232pp. Tables. Charts. Extensive references.

Trying to determine valid and invalid approaches in urban sociology, Mann critically examines the several ways sociology can view city life. He reviews, first, the studies based on the traditional rural-urban comparison method and, next, those based on examination of urban society itself. Even in the latter, he notes, "many of the descriptions of urban characteristics carried with them an implicit comparison with rural characteristics or an urban historical comparison." The city, he shows, could be viewed "in the large" as a social system or "from the viewpoint of the individual with emphasis upon adjustment of the person to the social system." He then tries to see the large-scale problems of urban life through the experiences of British town planning and the small-scale problems through the experience of neighborhood-unit planning. He finds town planning "essentially limited in scope by historical developments and the general ethos of the society in which it operates," while neighborhood-unit planning is "largely based upon a variety of value judgments held by social workers." Mann then proceeds to a theoretical analysis of "Gemeinschaft" and "Gesellschaft" -- the polar ideal types in sociology -- and finds "that the dichotomy was highly involved with a historical, or evolutionary, perspective," and that "looking at the community from the dichotomous view point the problem of urban development was not satisfactorily solved."

This analysis leads Mann to several conclusions:

1. Sociology is essentially a study of social change. Observations of social phenomena in a given time and place are useful only if they shed light on "the process of society." Both historical and comparative studies help to understand a given social situation, but the historical method "gives more attention to the dynamics of the situation, and...would seem to be the most likely method for predictive attempts, since it is a method which is more directly involved in the time scale."
2. To study urbanization, sociology must clearly state first the questions it wants answered and then determine and collect the data relevant to these questions.

3. The present social order is not likely to impose the kind of social controls needed to solve urban social problems. Within the present social framework in England some advances in regional planning may come about "linked more closely with overall economic and social planning."

4. Urban sociology must give greater attention to the effects of new technological and social developments on urban life: the social effects of increasing car ownership on cities and neighborhoods; the affect of widespread self-service retail network on working wives and the aged; social life in the rising number of recent towns standing half empty for most of the year; the social effects of high-density living; the leisure patterns of urbanites; and the effect of mass-media disseminated mass culture on rural and urban life.

Greer, Scott. The Emerging City: Myth and Reality. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962. 232pp.

Recounting and interpreting recent findings in urban studies, Greer thinks that the old image of the city has become obsolete and misleading. Urban settlement, he submits, is but one aspect of a massive change in the nation's social organization. The American city changes as American society grows bigger, uses more non-human sources of energy, extends its communicational network, and strengthens its central organizations. In a society of increasing scale, the city functions ever more as a center of control rather than a place of residence and production. Family and consumption oriented citizens increasingly shift their loyalties from the city to other organizations in the larger society. Citizen leadership, in the city and in the suburbs, spring more from self selected groups of activists and the "exercise of (political) power is dispersed and intermittent."

Cities and metropolitan areas, Greer thinks, do not face impending disaster. Their critical short-range problems seem to be "changed by the continuous evolution of society." But the continuing locational shift of people and jobs from the center to the outskirts suggests the possibility that the central city may become obsolete, unless a massive federal effort is soon made to revive it. It is more likely, however, that human activities will continue to disperse within the metropolitan region, and metropolitan regions will disperse over the nation forming, ultimately, "large 'conurbations' of solid settlement."

If this occurs, the central city will die -- functionally, structurally, politically, and ideologically. Its culture, ways of life, values, esthetic themes, and the very concept of local government as a democratic polity will wither away as citizens will grow increasingly dependent on the national organizational system and on distant centers of control.

Hauser, Philip M., and Leo F. Schnore, Editors. The Study of Urbanization. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965. 554pp. Extensive bibliographies.

A collection of essays produced by an interdisciplinary committee of the Social Research Council. The work summarizes about five years of research and presents an inventory and appraisal of the study of urbanization in economics, geography, history, political science, sociology and anthropology. It points up the gaps in knowledge about the antecedents and consequences of urbanization because of limited observation over time and space.

The first of its three parts scans the literature and views on urbanization and its basic problems in each of the several social science disciplines. The second stresses "Comparative Urban Research" and the need for studies of urbanization in the developing countries. The third, "Selected Research Problems," consists of papers dealing with selected research subjects.

Weber, Max. The City. (Translated and edited by Don Martindale and Gertrud Neuwirth) with introductory chapter, "Prefatory Remarks: The Theory of the City," by Don Martindale. New York: The Free Press, 1966. 242pp. Extensive reference notes. Selected bibliography.

European sociologist Weber attempts a systematic theory of urbanism. He critically examines the many concepts of European scholars who had based their explanation of the city on the peculiar order and historical primacy of its institutions. Testing these concepts against the evidence, Weber isolates the vital ones and combines them into his theory of the urban community.

According to Martindale, Weber conceives "the urban community as a total systematic unit of inter-human life distinguished not by a single institution but by an order of institutions.... Any community...is a district and limited pattern of human life. It represents a total system of life forces brought into some kind of equilibrium. It is self maintaining, restoring its order in the face of disturbances."

The persistence in American urban sociology of the question "what is the city?," says Martindale, "can only be explained in terms of the peculiar development conditions of American sociological theory." He traces the history and explains the special problems of American sociology and Weber's relevance to American urban theory.

Indicating the loss of the capacity of cities throughout the world to maintain and defend themselves, Martindale observes that "Weber's theory of the city...leads to a rather interesting conclusion.... The modern city is losing its external and formal structure. Internally it is in a state of decay while the new community represented by the nation everywhere grows at its expense. The age of the city seems to be at an end."

Schnore, Leo F. "The City As a Social Organism," Urban Affairs, Vol. 1, No. 3, March 1966, pp. 58-69.

Schnore traces the origin of the now discredited organismic image of the city and discusses "...ways in which the city may be considered like, though not identical to, an organism." He argues that the organismic analogy may be useful as a "scaffolding to help in building up a coherent body of sociological inductions."

Faris, Robert E.L. and H. Warner Dunham. Mental Disorders in Urban Areas: An Ecological Study of Schizophrenia and Other Psychoses. Chicago: Phoenix Books, The University of Chicago Press, 1965. 260pp. (Second edition. First published in 1939). Tables. Maps. Charts. Selected bibliography.

Faris and Dunham plotted the residences of patients previous to admission to mental hospitals. They found that:

1. Cases of mental illness show a regular decrease from the center to the periphery of the city -- a pattern of distribution similar to those previously found by others for incidence of poverty, unemployment, delinquency and crime, family desertion, infant mortality, communicable disease, and general mortality.

2. Psychoses cases have a characteristic distribution with reference to city neighborhoods and community conditions. Certain diseases are typically more prevalent in rooming-house districts and among lodgers, in neighborhoods of first immigrant settlement with a high proportion of recent newcomers, among foreign born and Negroes, in slum neighborhoods with a high percentage of relief clients, and so on.

These findings led the authors to some conclusions and hypotheses:

1. Community life and mental health are closely related. Urban areas having high rates of social disorganization also have high rates of mental disorder.. The long recognized influence of social environment on mental health is statistically valid.

2. The argument that the concentration of psychoses may be a statistical illusion caused by the drift of psychotically prone people to slum areas, does not stand up. "Studies of various kinds...have indicated that drift alone cannot account for these patterns."

3. Mental illness is a form of personal disorganization arising from a person's disorganized social relations. It appears to be more prevalent where the population is mobile and heterogeneous and life conditions are complex and precarious.

4. "Normal mentality can only develop through the participation of a healthy physiological mechanism in an adequate social organization.... Abnormalities in the patterns of social experience, in which disorganization of the social system is a significant causal factor, is also a contributor to the mental ills of mankind."

Rainwater, Lee. "Fear and the House-As-Heaven in the Lower Class. Comments by Roger Montgomery. Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. XXXII, No. 1, January 1966, pp. 23-37.

Sociologist Rainwater summarizes his findings in a five-year study of working-class life styles and of social and community problems in public housing projects. He examines how adequately working-class housing and neighborhoods shelter their occupants from threats and "potentially damaging or unpleasant trauma or other stimuli" in their environment, and reports "the feelings working-class people have about their present homes, their plans for change, their attitudes toward their neighborhoods, and the relation of these to personal and familial goals."

Rainwater perceives three groups within the working class--the "modern working class," the "traditional working class," and the "lower class" -- each having a distinct life style and attitude toward housing and environment conditioned by different material and social conditions.

Enjoying "all-American" affluence, the "modern working class," composed of skilled and white-collar workers, wants elaborate homes with the most modern major appliances, leisure-style outdoor living, and "Good" community services.

The "traditional working class" comprises established blue-collar workers, one step above the income and social level of the "lower class." More confident than the latter in the security of its homes, it suffers, nevertheless, "hangovers of concern with threatening lower-class environment." It seeks "expressive elaboration" in its shelters -- a "pleasant, cozy home with major conveniences" -- and a "respectable enough" neighborhood having "a satisfactory peer group society."

The "lower class," fifteen to twenty percent of the population, is composed of unskilled, frequently unemployed slum dwellers. Its poverty and cultural milieu place a premium on a secure home free of noxious or dangerous elements and a neighborhood free of external threats having a minimum of community services. The slum world of the "lower class" is fraught with non-human dangers from rats, poisons, fire, cold, poor plumbing and wiring, trash, poorly protected heights, unsafe structures, and high rents. It is fraught, too, with human dangers from assault, fighting and beating, rape, thrown objects, stealing, verbal hostility, shaming, exploitation from own family, caretakers and outsiders, and from "attractive alternatives that wean oneself or valued others away from a stable life."

Facing such dangers, "lower class" people are unable to form satisfying interpersonal relationships or exercise responsibility as a family member.

More than good housing is needed to overcome the human dangers in the life of the "lower class," Rainwater concludes, but decent housing can do away with all the non-human threats. "Once the home can be seen as a relatively safe place, lower class men and women express a desire to push out the boundaries of safety further into the larger world." They want their neighborhoods to have efficient and quick police protection, supervised play areas, free movement for themselves but control over outsiders who might come to exploit, and a courteous care-taker staff that provides and encourages "security and order...without at the same time extracting...a heavy price in self-esteem, dignity, and autonomy."

Rainwater's sociological insights, comments Montgomery, must seem irrelevant to the American architect. The social system insulates him from the needs of the "lower class" families, saddles him with low budgets and bureaucratic routines, and forces him to "conform to the...unarticulated American disposition to keep down the poor." He tends to be an obedient servant, apolitical, conservative, and act uncritically in carrying out received programs, budgets, and locational instructions. "Even if architects were to rebel against behaving as obedient servants, they could remove few of the threats of the disorganized ghetto life by simply changing the physical design of dwellings or site plans. They would have to fight out battles over density, location, and segregation through political action not architecture."

The solution to the housing problem of the "lower class," concludes Montgomery, probably "lies in the politics and economics of income distribution rather than architecture."

Glazer, Nathan and Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York City. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press and Harvard University Press, 1963. 360pp. Tables.

Sociologist Glazer and political scientist Moynihan describe, in detail, New York City's major ethnic groups: their backgrounds, talents, failings and achievements, and the role each has played in the city's politics, religion, culture, business, crime, schools, and labor unions. They show how ethnic-group subcultures have affected their school performance, choice of career and neighborhood, recreation patterns, political action, habits of life, and attitudes among and between them.



The author's main findings:

1. The heterogeneity of cities like New York differs from that of most big cities. It is one of ethnic mass groups that have maintained distinct (albeit changing) identities over several generations, and distinct political interests. Even after the groups prospered, and the government took over welfare and health functions, they tended to continue the early protective social and political institutions they formed, perpetuate them, and channel much of the city's life within their bounds.

2. Because each group differs from the others, faces different parts of American experience which it interprets and uses differently, and because American society accepts each group to a different degree, the assimilating impact of American culture on each ethnic group differs. "Time alone does not dissolve groups if they are not close to the Anglo-Saxon center (of the population)."

Their observations lead the authors to question the validity of the melting pot concept in American life.

Meier, Richard L. "Measuring Social and Cultural Change in Urban Regions." Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. XXV, No. 4, November 1959, pp. 180-190.

A sociometric hypothesis encouraged by recent work in information and computer technology applied to market analysis.

By measuring the intensity of the flow of meaningful symbols among people in an urban region, representative samples of social communication may be obtained that would summarize the state of the culture. Obtained periodically or continually, such samples would take cultural growth and development out of the realm of opinion and enable answering routinely specific questions about urban behavior. Being unbiased, such samples would also enable social historians "to reconstruct a creditable picture of social structure and social process."



Strauss, Anselm. Images of the American City. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1961. 306pp. Illustrated. Photos. Drawings. Tables. Extensive references.

Social psychologist Strauss depicts the imagery of cities expressed in selected American literature published in the course of American urban development. He reveals what people felt about cities; how they conceived and symbolized them from personal, subcultural, or regional viewpoints; and how these conceptions have changed over time. He describes people and regional life styles in the several periods of American history and contrasts the evolved images of the city with reality and with one another.

In the first of the volume's two parts, the author joins sociological, psychological, and historical perspectives to form a social psychologist's framework for examining American urban imagery. Using Chicago as a case study and examining travel literature, he shows how people with different life styles represent cities and urban space in different symbolic terms and subtly transmit urban imagery across space and time. In the second part, Strauss uses this framework to describe and analyze urban imagery throughout American history. He illustrates how Americans perceived urbanization differently in different generations and regions and expressed their conflicting values in different symbolizations of the city. He shows the uses made of city planning, and discusses "contemporary opinions regarding the state of our cities and suburbs."

Some of the author's observations and insights:

1. Early Americans expected their nation to remain agricultural. Until the mid-nineteenth century, it was not clear that their cities, once subordinate to the countryside, were to dominate the nation.
2. As Americans have tried to understand what was happening, they have filled their folklore and literature with contrasts between urban and rural styles of life all along the process of urbanization, and still persist doing so in muted forms. The continuing process continues to affect the concepts, images, and symbolisms they generate of their cities and the nation's urbanization.
3. Uncertainty about the environment begets psychological stress. A city dweller thinks, talks or writes about the city to organize the mass of impressions to which he is daily exposed. In his rhetoric, he characterizes, judges, and interprets as he seeks the essence of his experience and tries to keep his peace of mind. Continual changes force city dwellers to reassess their environment and thus continually add new symbolisms to folklore and literature.

4. Different population groups of a city are aware of only a few of its parts and their members construct perspectives from the viewpoint of urban experiences -- spatial, geographic, economic, social and cultural -- unique to their group. Collectively, these perspectives form a system of symbolism having historical import, for they depict the urban experiences of important population groups over time.

5. In the geographic regions of the United States, people "have had, and still do have, quite different experiences with urbanization.... American regional individualities are carved deeply into the psychology of our cities."

6. The imagery which the country-versus-city theme begots was replaced in recent history by an imagined polarity of city and suburbs. A new imagery is now growing up which reflects current questions about metropolitan areas and the "ways in which Americans are attempting to make sense out of the often puzzling facts of today's urban milieu."

Strauss appends to the volume "A Note on Imagery in Urban Sociology" in which he observes that although "...the sociologist tends to use his images...less rhetorically than the public...he uses those same images quite like the man in the street...." For all their scientific objectivity, he notes, "sociologists...are a part of the American scene too."

Ktsanes, Thomas and Leonard Reissman. "Suburbia -- New Homes for Old Values." Social Problems, Vol. 7, No. 3, Winter 1959-1960, pp. 187-195.

The social forms of suburbia, the authors agree, are akin to those of the city. They question the dominant image of suburbia that has emerged from urban-sociology literature: (1) that it is undesirably homogeneous, (2) that it is overwhelmingly a middle-class environment, and (3) that it nurtures and encourages social conformity.

The authors' refutation:

1. Suburbs are homogeneous, some have argued, because they select their settlers socially using the price of the home as a filtering device. This differentiates populations by income groups holding the same social beliefs and attitudes that typically affect the organization of the community. But "homogeneous" is an ambiguous term and is, therefore, a "relative and limited generalization." In reality, suburbanites, the children of the heterogeneous social environment of the cities, are "strongly inculcated (with) urban patterns of thought and behavior" and do not easily conform to new group standards. They have left the city because of its housing obsolescence and shortage and have come to raise young families in the suburbs where government policy provided better housing. "What we may be seeing, therefore, is the collection of individuals at the same stage of their family cycle brought together residentially for the moment. In another

decade, the still latent differences might emerge into full view as the suburban families age and go on their own way."

2. The argument that the suburbs are overwhelmingly a middle-class environment means little since sociology never clearly defined "class" or how the class system functions in society. Besides, the tendency of social scientists to select middle-class suburbs for their studies casts doubts on the value of their generalization. There are, in fact, rich and poor suburbs, suburbs with heavy concentrations of foreign-born, with entirely native-born populations, or with large Negro populations, economically and socially specialized suburbs, well and poorly organized suburbs. "Suburbs, in short, are not the inevitable class levelers that some writers have presumed them to be. On the contrary, suburbs still (seem to) serve...stylize and crystalize existing class relationships unchanged although in a different and newer locale." What seems to be occurring in American society generally "is that the taste patterns and consumer practices traditionally associated with the middle class have filtered down to the (now more affluent) working class.... It is more reasonable to conclude that some of the criteria of class have...changed" requiring a reassessment and precise definition of "class."

3. Since social-status differences exist in the suburbs, "the contention that widespread values of conformity have developed seems erroneous." Different classes produce different ideologies "even if ideas are imported from one (class) level to another."

In sum, regardless of their architectural similarity, the suburbs have "not set in motion a serious alteration of the basic features of our social culture but (have) simply arranged for their expression in a new locale."

Lamanna, Richard A. "Value Consensus Among Urban Residents." Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. XXX, No. 4, November 1964, pp. 317-323.

Report of a 1958 sociological study that had searched for the extent of consensus among town dwellers on certain physical and social environmental qualities that make a medium-size town an ideal place in which to live.

The author concludes that although, generally, "people value most that which they have the least of" or feel deprived of, the high degree of consensus on the relative importance of the values studied indicates that there are good grounds to believe that "communities can be planned in terms of a common core of value assumptions." He also notes that "...the planners' emphasis on physical factors is only partly supported (by evidence). Social values, especially those related to status, have a greater importance to the average urbanite than (is)...generally given in city planning."

Mead, Margaret. "Value for Urban Living." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 314, November 1957, pp. 10-14.

Advances in communication and transportation may fully decentralize manufacturing and distribution services, and reinstate the small town as the abode of stable populations where human personal values may be preserved. But only cities can serve as cultural centers to provide freedom of contact and cross stimulation among many kinds of human creativity. The city of the future -- clean, convenient, well appointed, commodious, free of pressures, quickly and easily reached, "perhaps a weekend city, a vacation city, a conference city -- will still be needed as a crucible of human imagination."

Hillman, Arthur. Community Organization and Planning. New York: Macmillan Co., 1950. 378pp. Graphs. Bibliography.

The work is designed as a textbook for students in sociology and related fields and as a guide for community leaders to the principles and practice of community organization.

Hillman defines community organization as a set of "methods by which communities deliberately change their structure and way of life (through) conscious cooperation for local planning and other forms of action." In the process of such ongoing cooperation, representatives of all groups in the community select goals "toward democratic ends and...(implement them) by democratic means."

The author defines "community" as "a localized grouping of people in an area as large as the actual functional, economic, and social interdependence of the people involved, and whose limits transcend the formal boundaries of a city or other political entity."

Specialization divides American communities into interest and ethnic groups. This makes communication between people difficult and consensus never complete. "But some measure of working agreement is necessary (and possible), if only for survival." Experience shows that people can learn "to do more for themselves than they thought possible through conscious organization and planning."

The major goal of community organization is to introduce an orderly process of problem solving within the community. It may begin with a problem in transportation, or health, or race relations which goes unsolved due to "practical difficulties in overcoming mass inertia and habit that often spell defeatism in communities." With the aid of a professional community worker, a community organization council can arouse interest and generate conscious, intelligent effort in a way that does not violate the freedom of individuals concerned.

The work is divided into five parts. The first defines and offers a theoretical framework for community organization. It relates the economic, physical, and social aspects of community life to comprehensive local planning. The second discusses broadly the planning process with emphasis on the physical building and rebuilding of communities. The third describes community centers as focal points of cooperative action, and community councils as the means for achieving coordination and consensus, stimulating participation, and developing leadership. The fourth discusses community services. And the fifth discusses community organization procedures and methods and the interrelation between national and local activities in the promotion of community welfare.

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